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ALEXANDER BERKMAN—REBEL ANARCHIST

The New York Times of July 2nd brings a detailed cablegram from Nice, France, telling of the manner in which the life of our comrade Alexander Berkman came to an end. He had undergone a serious operation that afterwards kept him for four months in a hospital. (We know from various sources that his eyesight was very badly impaired of late). For a short time it seemed as if he was recuperating. A relapse forced his going back to the hospital. Uremia complications set in, causing him such suffering that on the morning of Sunday, June 27th, he fired some bullets, but without success. attempt was made to extract the bullets, but without success. He died at 7 p. m. the same evening. He was buried on Tuesday, June 30th, in the Cochez Cemetery, at the outskirts of Nice. Berkman was born at Wilno, Russia, on Nov. 21, 1870.

* * *

Alexander Berkman dead? Those who ever knew him would hardly be able to make themselves believe this tragical truth, now a fact. But can such a life as Berkman has led ever be forgotten? I doubt it.

It was the year of 1892. The workers in the steel industry were in the midst of a fierce combat with the exploiters and rulers as well. The government was handing out "law and order" badges to every thug that the steel barons could hire. The then existent infamous Pinkerton detective agency worked openly hand in hand with the uniformed thugs of the government. Striking workers were attacked, clubbed, shot down and murdered. The life of workers seems always to be so cheap. Their toll was mounting. No one seemed to care in this self-boasted "land of the free and the brave." At least no one of the "pure" natives came forth to show it.

But there was one who cared. An erstwhile arrived emigrant in this country was brooding in a small tenement house of the metropolis of the land, New York City. Was this the kind of Justice that prevails in this country? Will no one come forward to avenge the murdered workers at Homestead? Wherein lies the differentiation line between the czaristic land of Russia he had just escaped from and this supposedly land of freedom? Alexander Berkman brooded over these questions but could find no satisfactory answer to them. It was no doubt this failure to find an answer that gave birth within his brain to the idea of avenging the murdering of seven workers at Homestead, Pa. The head of the Homestead Steel Works was Henry C. Frick. He never met Frick. Didn't have the faintest idea what he looked like. He held nothing against him as a human being—but everything as the representative of a system that maintained its reign by the outright murdering of workers. No one will ever know the difficulties that Berkman had encountered before succeeding to make his way into the office of Frick. But he did. Bullets from Berkman's revolver spouted forth. He saw Frick fall. The murdering of workers at Homestead was at last avenged! Berkman felt relieved. He did not even try to escape. He proudly admitted his deed. Frick recovered and Berkman served 14 years in the penitentiary. That is how an unjust society repaid an act of justice.

The life he spent in prison could not break his rebel-anarchist spirit. It sharpened it. Many a time Berkman found himself in solitary confinement—always as a result of standing up for the rights of—other prisoners. It was while being incarcerated that he wrote his monumental work, "Prison Memoirs of An Anarchist," a work that is acknowledged by all as one of the outstanding contributions to the world's literature on prison life.

Berkman's release from prison began to reveal the true greatness of his rebellious-anarchist spirit. A tour throughout the country, addressing scores of mass meetings, brought him closer with those masses who understood the significance of his 1892 deed and loved him the more for it. Returning to New York City he took over the editorship of *Mother Earth*.

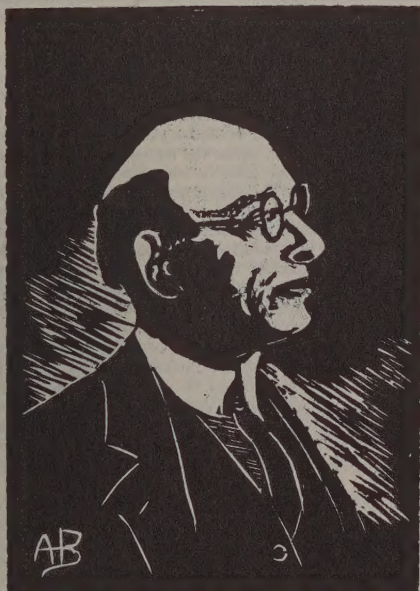
The plight of the unemployed in New York City found in Berkman an ever-ready defending spokesman, as did afterwards the tragical death of the three youths who died from an accidental bomb explosion—a bomb that they had prepared to hurl as an act of vengeance for the Ludlow massacre in Colorado (where at the behest of Rockefeller a gathering of striking miners, their wives and children were burned to death) at Rockefeller.

The capturing of Caplan and Schmidt, as a result of a spy's having given them away, found Berkman addressing mass meetings throughout the country in their behalf.

In the year of 1915 Berkman founded on the Pacific coast *The Blast*. And every issue was a blast against the present

disorder of life. When the 1916 preparedness day bomb explosion took place in San Francisco Berkman was still publishing there *The Blast*. The Market Street Railway of that city picked out as target victims Mooney and his wife, Billings, Nolan and Weinberg, aiming thereby to crush the organization of its workers in which Mooney and all those arrested with him were so active in organizing. Berkman was, of course, the first to come forward in exposing the concocted frame-up. He opened the pages of *The Blast* for their defense. He organized a defense committee and began a tour throughout the country in their behalf.

When Berkman reached New York City he was arrested on the charge of being an accomplice to the explosion at San Fran-



ALEXANDER BERKMAN
(Nov. 21, 1870 - June 27, 1936)

cisco. The newly added victim to the frame-up was so utterly too self-evident, that even the then Governor of New York refused to sign the extradition papers.

When Woodrow Wilson enacted his great summersault by dragging this country into war, Berkman set out to organize an anti-conscription movement, addressing innumerable mass meetings. The last huge mass meeting Berkman addressed was on crutches! It was also the address at that gathering which served as the charge upon which he was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment. After serving two years, and with the war ended, his sentence was commuted to the two years he had served and he was deported to Russia on the Buford in 1919.

A characteristic example of the spirit which Alexander Berkman was imbued with dawned upon me, in full, when in company of a group of comrades we came to ask his aid in forming groups on his intended tour throughout the country soon after his serving the two years imprisonment and whilst his eventual deportation was not yet finally acted upon. He listened to us with an interest that made us feel he has always been with us, one of us. Help? Of course he would! It is work that must be done! We came away inspired in the clandestine work we were doing and in his readiness to do all he can for the furthering of our ideal.

Russia, no longer the czaristic Russia, was to prove a bitter disillusion for him. Two years of traveling to gather data for the revolutionary museum brought him face to face with what the Bolshevik government had done to the anarchist movement. He learned at first hand how the government had exiled, imprisoned and murdered all of his comrades who had refused to compromise with their principles. When Berkman reached Petrograd the Kronstadt rebellion was taking place. Berkman pleaded with Zinoviev not to allow the drowning in blood of the most heroic rebels of the 1905-1917 and 1918 revolutions. But his pleadings proved in vain. The massacre of the Paris Communards of 1871 was repeated, this time no longer in the name

of capitalism, but in the name of socialism! That was the last straw that held Berkman to the Bolshevik regime. When his sympathies ceased and his opinions became known, the Bolshevik rulers exiled him from the land of his birth!

For the second time in his life Berkman had to begin the life of an exiled revolutionist. He remained in France with the sword of deportation ever hanging over him. It was there that he wrote "The Bolshevik Myth" and subsequently his "A. B. C. of Anarchist-Communism." When he had forwarded his manuscript of "The Bolshevik Myth" to comrade Eleanor M. Fitzgerald, he emphasized to her that if it was to be serialized before appearing in book form—she must under no circumstances—let any capitalist organ have it. For they would use it as a weapon wherewith to discredit revolutions as well as revolutionists.

As an exile in France Berkman had not for one moment ceased to be the participant in everything that concerned the anarchist movement. He edited the *Bulletin*, issued for the aid of political victims in Russia. In this, as in many other works, his name had to remain *incognito*—due to his status as a political exile.

* * *

The sum total of the life of Alexander Berkman can best be expressed in but one indisputable sentence: *He had lived the life of an uncompromising rebel-anarchist!*

And the anarchist movement must feel proud that such a rebel-anarchist could have been drawn to its fold!

That the ending of his own life was brought about by the unceasing ordeals he was forced to undergo in his long and devoted struggle for the cause of liberty—of this there can be no doubt.

In mourning the great loss, the anarchist movement will equally be aroused and inspired by his life-activity and untimely death to carry on the struggle with renewed vigor and determination for the ultimate triumph of the ideal that Alexander Berkman has served so faithfully—the ideal of anarchy.

MARCUS GRAHAM

Chicory Corner Looks Ahead

Gordon Cascaden's annual visit happened this year one May week-end. John Hunter, young Irish Anarcho-Communist, was in town, and counting in our kaffee-klatch friends, we felt that we were close to actually having a Chicory Corners group at last. Cascaden told of having his attention called to the Chicory Corners notes at a meeting in a New York IWW hall. He is still at work on what ought to be a monumental history of the Russian people.

Hunter had spent a listless May day in Ottawa, so he reported. In London, Ont., we were glad to have for distribution pamphlets issued by the Federated Libertarian Groups of Canada. They were prepared by the Toronto groups.

Princess Alexandra Kropotkin's address at an advertising convention dinner got generous publicity in the newspapers. Someone in charge of the dinner had the bright inspiration to have the orchestra play the Russian Imperial anthem when she arose to speak. When the music ceased Alexandra fumbled with her notes and then said: "I hope I am not here under false pretenses. The Russian Imperial anthem is not very appropriate music to greet the daughter of a revolutionary."

The Princess came to town the same week Kagawa had been telling the church folks about the co-operation movement in Japan. And Tom Mann, veteran British radical, was here the week before. A few London-Onters must have been enlightened a little by one or all of them. Anyhow a voluntary welfare association, sort of "white cross" undertaking, is being formed to assist special cases of needy families and individuals not covered by the governmental relief agencies.

A chief secretary of the Friends' Advancement committee, Philadelphia, stopped over recently to confer on various ideals held in common with anarchist, social credit, liberal and socialist members of the local New-Thought Centre which is now running smoothly. We hope to contact two or three more libertarians during the summer, in which event, we may get around to giving a little demonstration in various ways of just what anarchist technique can accomplish in propaganda, educational and social adjustment work. Comrades passing through are urged to inquire for us at the little lunch room "where Ale Street runs into Chou Plaza." Our heterodoxy is incurable, but we're going somewhere. Vive la liberte!

NEIL TURNER

THE ANARCHISTS' ROLE IN SOCIAL REVOLUTIONS

The events of the last twenty years have brought to the forefront problems that make the question of the anarchists' position preceding and during the revolution, as well as in the upbuilding of a new society, of outstanding importance. The social revolutions throughout the world as predicted by Marx, Bakunin or Kropotkin have not materialized in full. The social revolution in Russia that ended czarism forever was followed by abortive revolutions in Germany, Hungary and Italy. During the last five years an heroic attempt toward a genuine social revolution is repeatedly being thwarted in Spain. All this makes it imperative in opening up a thorough discussion of the nature suggested by the study of our collaborator, comrade Pierre Ramus.

As to the need for a definite and clear-cut program during and preceding an oncoming social revolution, as is being emphasized by comrade Ramus in his study that follows, MANI totally dissents from. After our reply will follow an article from the pen of comrade Federico Urales, well known Spanish anarchist, who will discuss the collectivist and communist attitude during a revolutionary upheaval. In that study the federalist conception of anarchism is very brilliantly expounded. Our collaborator, comrade M. Acharya, will contribute a study on the question as to whether a liberated mankind has any need for a monetary exchange system.

We feel confident that this discussion will arouse and evoke many of our anarchist writers throughout the world to participate in it. Such an unlimited and thorough assemblage of thoughts and discussion cannot but prove as a boon as well as an inspiration for the development, growth and triumph of the tactics and ideas of true freedom, the ideal of anarchy.

Whilst preferring all contributions to the discussion to be written in English, we will welcome studies in other languages, that will be translated into English.

In such a discussion, divergent views will no doubt be expressed, sometimes these views will be at variance with those of the generally accepted position of the anarchistic movement. This cannot be avoided. In fact, it should be welcomed as a stepping stone toward aiding and clarifying the anarchist position in the world-wide struggles of mankind groping and aiming at political and social liberation.—Editor.

The Task of the Anarchists in Spain

Proudhon used to say, that all counter-revolution is the result of a spoiled and botched revolution. No doubt, the truthfulness of this saying has been proven beyond any controversy by the course of the Russian revolution, followed by the German and Austrian "revolutions." They have all failed in their purpose, not on account of lack of support on the part of the people; they failed because the populace was misled by anti-libertarian, socially erroneous aspects and demands which, when realized, did not at all help the people, the workers, but only helped to uphold the state and economic enslavement of the broad masses.

We witness another revolution just now, in Spain. Since April 14th, 1931, that country has passed through several upheavals, the last in October, 1934. With the result that neither government nor capitalism has been overcome.

Of the about 5 millions of work-people in Spain, there is about one million comprising the unemployed. Without any exaggeration it can be stated that about 800,000 members are organized in the revolutionary syndicalist Confederation of Work (CNT.), being very strongly influenced and premeditated by anarchists. Surely, about 50,000 counts the membership of the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (FAI.). As one therefore sees, the anarchist movement in Spain has become a multitudinous mass-organization, being such a strong minority-body within social life that it is to be marveled at, how it is possible that it is not ushering in the Social Revolution according to its own proportions of strength. Inasmuch as we anarchists are aware of the fact that the Social Revolution will always only be the mission of a strong mass-minority, never of a majority.

Enormous sacrifices have been brought during the last five years by our Spanish movement to the cause of the revolution. Many hundreds of heroic comrades have lost their lives, thousands have been imprisoned, until the last, by direct action enforced, amnesty in February, 1936. The mentality of the Spanish anarchist movement is on a very high level, intellectually and morally, it is imbued by a magnificent spirit.

Why then have the efforts of our comrades, as far as the realization of our principles are concerned, remained futile until now? What is it that has caused thus far their incapacity of carrying through our ideas in Spain successfully, especially upon the economic and material field in the lives of the workers?

The solution of this problem is internationally of highest importance for anarchism. Because nowhere, not even in France, does the anarchistic movement group such large masses as in Spain*. Under the given circumstances there rests an international responsibility upon the Spanish branch of our confraternity. If the Spanish branch of our International does not succeed in the advancement of our aims as anarchists, our enemies will, whether by right or not is immaterial, use such a fact as a strong argument against our movement in every country.

At the same time it is also very important for us, as anarchists, to get to know the real cause of their failure, if there should be one. We must fathom it IF WE want to comprehend which course we have to pursue.

Following up as closely as possible the movement of Spain through some of its best journals and papers, it appears to me

*According to Andre Corthis, who has recently visited and studied Spain, there are one million and two hundred thousand Anarchists all in all there. ("Revue des deux Mondes," Paris, April 15th, 1936).

that one of the greatest obstacles lies in the fact that the Spanish movement is mainly based upon a syndicalist foundation (CNT.). True enough, this great organization is strongly permeated by anarchistic sentiments and tendencies, especially in the line of direct action, but all this is limited mainly to the usual "immediate demands" of trade-unionism, comprising solely a bettering of wages, shortening the hours of labor and alleviating the general conditions of toil.

Let no one make a mistake about it: I am the last to underestimate the value of this inevitable struggle against the deterioration of life, especially in Spain, where there are terribly low wages, where the unemployed do not get any support, where the workers live in most abject dwellings, where there prevails an insufficiency of hospitals, of professional schools, where as yet there are too few communal schools, and where, in short, the social conditions for the workers are as yet very backward, their standard of life is very low. All this I am aware of, and I fully appreciate the necessity of the everyday-struggle of the CNT for immediate palliatives. While recognizing the dire need of this daily struggle of the workers, we must face the fact that it is not specifically anarchistic and it will never lead towards anarchy, towards the realization of a society without any rulership, without monopoly and without wage slavery.

The latter is the "crux criticorum" of the problem. Because it brings up the question: What is the Anarchist Federation of Spain doing in order to realize Anarchism during a most revolutionary period?

Action and realization in this sense becomes for Anarchists a solemn duty as no other movement knows better than ours what an unheard of increase measure of sacrifices for the work-people every day of upholding the present system costs. With every day that we can shorten the duration of the present system of governmentism and monopoly, we rescue the life of many thousands of human beings, otherwise doomed to perdition, despair, suicide, terrible misery and slow starvation.

In this respect I have until now failed to find in the FAI that constructive spirit of Anarchism which I consider to be indispensable during revolutionary times in order to create the new which Anarchism has to offer, when our movement has masses, ready to follow its lead. Within a revolution Anarchism must be the pioneer of actions which imbue the masses with its principles of practical value, which show the most expedient and shortest way to achieve them. No political party, no syndicalism, will perform this task. The former not, because it would thereby make itself superfluous, the latter cannot do it because it is, in spite of often very high sounding platforms, situated exactly like either the Social democracy or the simple trade unions. Being based upon the practical realization of minimum demands, it becomes, even the larger it grows numerically, incapable of realizing its own theoretical-maximum demands.

Here it is where Anarchism has to perform its supreme duty. By the formulation of specific Anarchist-communist, concrete aims and actions it must realize that what makes the simple syndicalist action, always only a palliative, superfluous. If Anarchism cannot, or does not, do this, although having sufficient following and adherents among the masses, it fails in its highest purpose, it will not reach or realize the aims of the social revolution.

The proof for the correctness of this assertion I find in the observation of the Spanish anarchist movement. It has noble minds, tremendous meetings, excellent speakers, very clear written theoretical dissertations in its journals and periodicals and, above all, magnificent human material in its rank and file. And yet, it has not achieved anything tangible, during the last five years, in an economical way for the workers following its lead. The generous condition of life in Spain is deteriorating; Spanish money loses constantly in its buying value by the trickeries of money-mongering on the part of government; unemployment is in the increase and so is the misery of the multitude. Out of this grows with unhampered force Fascism—which poisonous flower grows inevitably after revolutionary upheavals which have been miscarriages, thereby only increasing the misery of the workers, instead of progressively diminishing it through their movement.

What is lacking in Spain? I fear that it fails for not having a concrete and concise plan of constructive action which must be first realized before a general social revolution becomes possible for the workers who must be taught by demonstrative economic, systematic actions, before they can understand the theoretical sense of Anarchism, before they grow up to the real meaning of a social revolution. No doubt comrade Vincente Ballester is correct when he says: "One of our greatest defects is the lack of a concrete programme; something what would give a synthesis of our aspirations, serve as a guarantee to those who are not as yet with us, still are against us... The majority of the people do not know us, or rather only know us alone from an aspect of destruction, seeing chaos in our libertarian aim. Undoubtedly these very same folks would follow us confidently, at a certain moment, if we beforehand would know how to capture their willfulness by a programmatic exposition which would demonstrate to them that there is a solution of continuance of life after the bourgeois world and that what we ourselves want and cherish." ("La Revista Blanca," Barcelona, March 27th, 1936.)

There are some who naively believe that after our victory Anarchism shall need a certain "transitional state." I emphatically deny it—maintaining that the preceding struggle before and the one within the social revolution is the only period of transition which our idea needs. So long as Anarchists do not understand the constructive measures necessary for the period of transition within the social revolution, before our victory, none of either will be possible. Anarchism can only completely be realized, but in order to reach it, there are transitional social-revolutionary methods of constructive action according to well

premeditated plans indispensable.

To prove my contention it is quite sufficient to let the facts speak for themselves.

Before me lays the first of May issue of *Earth and Liberty* (Barcelona), the main weekly of the FAI. Surely, just such an issue should, appearing in revolutionary times, try to develop the creative, constructive, revolutionary spirit of Anarchist communism among the workers. I firmly believe that it is done inasmuch as it is comprehended in Spain. But let us probe how it is done, so as to get clarity ourselves. In the whole number of the paper there is only one constructive thought, immediately to be launched. Laying the utmost stress upon this one thought, considered tremendously important, the article *Employed and Unemployed; a main problem of our days, not offered the necessary attention*, says as follows:

"1. Any increases of wages to which capitalism sees itself obliged are not paid by capitalism with any decrease of its gains; they are, in fact, immediately paid by the consumers, and in the last instance by ourselves who are working, as these are the only ones who produce.

"2. One can demonstrate upon the basis of exact figures that if we would reduce the capitalistic gains within the actual political conditions even to zero, and if we would distribute those gains amongst the workers, the wage increase would be almost imperceptible."

While I believe that the second point is very debatable, controversial—personally, I consider it a mistaken conception, stated usually also by bourgeois economists in defense of capitalism—I believe the first point to be absolutely correct. But while this point of view is smashing the whole theory of syndicalism—for its German wing, its obvious truth was denied by Rudolf Rocker in his syndicalist pamphlet *The Struggle for the Daily Bread*, (Berlin, 1925)—I do not consider it fair to take away from the worker the fallacious hope in the efficiency of the strike, if one does not offer him something better, more tangible and applicable, that has immediately to raise his standard of existence by far more than purely syndicalist action can do. If one does not offer the worker this, it is better if he at least strikes for a higher wage—instead of abstaining from any action, or by indulging into one which is still more lowering his standard of life...

To my estimation Anarchism has to show the worker a constructive method whereby he can raise the standard of life of the whole working people and at the same time demolish the basis of capitalism and authority. If this is not shown to the workers how to do it successfully, it is not the fault of Anarchism, but rather, of a lack of constructive capacity in the application of anarchistic principles to the needs of everyday life of the masses in their instinctive struggle to emancipate themselves from the bondage of wage slavery and governmental thralldom; undoubtedly, the anarchist movement owes this duty to the worker: to show by economic means how to act in order to reach this aim. Especially if we derogate the belief of the worker in strikes and other minor palliatives, they are only then quackery when something better is offered and something more in accordance with our principles arrived at, at least striven for.

But what "better" is offered in the above quoted article? Lo and behold:

"1. The reduction of the work day to a maximum of 6 hours.
"2. A work day of solidarity—either in money or in the right to work—should be offered by those who work once or twice every month to the unemployed."

No more and nothing else except these insipid syndicalist advices is given as a constructive policy to the workers of Spain in an anarchist-communist journal. It must be asked: What do we need Anarchism for if we are satisfied with such less than mediocre immediate demands?

It stands to reason that if the worker in the factory gives one or two work days in the month to the unemployed, he might thereby in a poor way help the unemployed, but he, the worker, is thereby lowering his own standard of life, that of the employed in general. Can this be the aim of an anarchist-communist movement even as an immediate demand? And if the reduction of the work day goes with a reduction of wage, what is gained by that? And which trade union movement was now-a-days able to reduce its work day and proportionately increase the wage?

In reality, all the above two proposals would achieve is that they would make capitalism more tolerable for the unemployed, still worse and more miserable for the employed workers. Both proposals are typical shallow-reformist, as all the usual reform swindles of social democracy of Germany and Austria were; they are typical of some syndicalist-reformist demands, whose palliative fulfillment never goes at the expense of capitalism or governmentalism, but always at the expense of the multitude of the workers. In those countries it was, in marxian state-dictatorial Soviet Russia it is, that all reform for the worker was tantamount to a pressure upon the workers to let their wage be taxed away by their own organizations for alms given to other workers, still more unfortunate, and whereby capitalism was upheld.

The mere fact that such propositions, as the above two quoted, can be made editorially in the pages of an anarcho-communist journal proves glaringly the limitations of a really anarchistically inspired constructive thought within our contemporary movement in Spain. It is by far too syndicalist and too little anarchist. Besides, our movement does not generally recognize enough that just as much as war and militarism need a certain strategy in order to be effective, so does the social revolution need a clear cut method of procedure in order to reach its lofty aim. That the above two proposals do not belong to it, is self-evident. But without such a method of procedure the social revolution is impossible, even though its propaganda be inspired by the clearest theoretical expressions, as is undoubtedly the case in

(Continued on page Three)

PEACE, BREAD — FREEDOM

Everything changes. We don't need to go back to the flood, a few decades will do. We were then with the famous motto, "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite." During celebrations people used to shout, "Vive la Republique!" and while stuffing themselves with food and liquor, they were hiccoughing the "Marseillaise." At that time, we still held fast to the "1789 immortal principles." But I repeat, everything changes.

The "1789 immortal principles"? Who thinks or speaks of them now besides some of the old fogies? The "Marseillaise" has been replaced by the "Internationale" and the motto "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite" has been succeeded by, Peace Bread, Freedom.

So let it be. I shall even say, "the better so"! For, by means of being stewed in all kinds of gravies, words and songs are finally so thrown into disorder that, little by little, they lose their original meanings and insensibly take more or less different, if not diametrically opposite meanings.

People have dropped the republican and democratic holy trinity, "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite," whose doctrine is no longer celebrated, except in official fiestas, and is no longer applied upon public buildings or as a cruel derision, upon prisons.

Everything becomes borsenome, passes away, and decays. The trinity of yesterday is in a dying state and the one of tomorrow has just seen the light.

I sympathetically greet its appearance and wish it a long and happy life.

"Bread" means "well-being for all," and if at the time of scarcity, privation and famine could be understood and excused, at the threshold of centuries of abundance which open before us,

the state of misery in which a part of the population find themselves, is a disgrace.

"Peace" signifies "no more war!" It is indispensable and urgent to do away with war. In the eyes of any comprehensible and sensible human being, war is an absurdity, a folly and a crime. At present, war can neither find justification nor excuse; it is the worst of all evils, it is even the absolute total of all evils.

Room must be made for the new social contract, which, breaking all the chains forged by the present one, will proclaim to everyone the right to an integral life. It will bring about the recognition and exercise of this right without any other limits but the natural one that assigns the respect of equal right to all others without distinction of sex, nationality or race.

Thus, by bread, no more misery. By peace, no more war. By freedom, no more servitude.

I assent without reserve to this wonderful motto that summarizes and synthesizes a marvelous program of propaganda and action. I am—and I have been for a long time—a faithful adherent, passionately attached to this triple cult of well-being, peace and freedom. No one wishes more than I do that IN MAN'S HEART raised as soon as possible, a temple to this wonderful "new times trinity," a temple that will be infinitely more beautiful and more solid than all those in granite or gold which could be imagined by the best inspired artists or built by the most eminent architects.

However, if the order in which the three terms of this august trinity present and succeed themselves has any importance—and in reality and practice of things, the importance appears to me to be great—I propose that the terms succeed each other in the following order, Peace, Bread, Freedom.

Why? For the reason that well-being can only be conceived and realized through peace and in peace. I don't think it's necessary to demonstrate it. And also because freedom as well cannot be conceived and realized but through peace and in peace. It

would be superfluous to try to prove it.

Well-being and freedom represent the contents of ideas and facts that can only see the light of day and develop through peace and in peace. This is self evident. So that without peace, bread and freedom simply remain wonderful terms which convey essential needs, the most legitimate aspirations and the highest hopes of humanity; but these needs, aspirations and hopes can only enter into the domain of realities on condition that they be introduced by peace and maintained and strengthened in peace.

Do you begin to understand why I propose the following order, Peace, Bread, Freedom?

I shall add, Peace is the mother of well-being and freedom. The mother is prior to the child. There is no fruit without the tree that bears it. And it is upon the tree of peace that both fruits, well-being and freedom, will bud, blossom and ripen. Consequently, first Peace, then Bread and finally Freedom.

It is in the anguishing days we live in, when the cursed war eats into a country and threatens to carry others into the deadly whirlpool; it is in such times that we grasp more thoroughly the necessity for abolishing war, and the need of laying the foundation for peace.

Pacifists let us redouble our zeal and ardor; let us multiply our efforts, carry our activity to its maximum; let us spread our undefeatable will of Peace; let us make it known to the masters in power as well as to those of finance.

Capitalists and governments must know that men of 1935 are firmly resolved not to be like those of 1934; the herd will not be led to the slaughterhouse. This is the only means that will stop rulers from their fatal inclination. It is the unique means of preserving peace, and preparing, through peace and in peace, the coming of a social order that will assure to each one the maximum of well-being and the freedom adequate to each epoch. (Translated by Jules Scarceriaux) SEBASTIAN FAURE

Anarchists Task in Spain

(Continued from page Two)

Spain. In fact, the elaboration of such methods of constructive procedure is, during the period of a revolution, more important than any, even the best, theory. The lack of such constructive plans of action, which necessarily have to lead to the realization of Anarchism-Communism, makes the most heroic efforts futile; this lack must cause enormous waste of life, energy and sacrifice, without ever leading to victory.

Anarchism has a scientifically, ethically and sociologically unimpeachable idea and theory. As to the method of its constructive realization it has until today not as yet come to an unanimous understanding and comprehension about the way of its procedure during a general revolution, in order to make the latter a social one, leading by transition measures of action straight and inevitably to Anarchism-Communism, which alone should make it impossible for the reactionary interests to again gain the upper hand.

As the greatest danger for the anarchist movement in Spain, for the whole international movement at the present time, I consider the mere possibility of a failure which our Spanish comrades and their splendid movement may incur. Such a defeat would have the most disastrous, far-reaching, catastrophic consequences for our movement and its adherents internationally.

Fully do I recognize the prerogative of the Spanish comrades to mete out their destiny themselves. No one wants to "boss" them, no one is entitled to force any theory or tactic upon them which they do not acknowledge themselves as practical for them. They know best what is suitable for their country, for the mentality of the Spanish people and what is most feasible for them.

But what they do not know is this: Suggestions, plans, ideas which could be submitted to them by our Anarchist International. As it stands now, there is no one who has no direct contact with the Spanish movement, its press and inspirers, who can give them any advice, any experience, any well thought out plans, suggestions which they themselves might gladly crystallize into great actions for the benefit of their movement and of the whole international idea. Until now there is no perception of such advice given to them, or an insufficient one.

Herewith I offer an urgent suggestion to our newly founded Universal Federation of Anarchism whose excellent initiators are Spanish comrades. Let them give the advice to the proper committees and comrades in Spain to initiate a universal inquiry (an "enquête") amongst all of our internationally best known comrades outside of Spain on the following topics:

I. Can you give any advice or suggestion or plan for some concrete methods of procedure by anarchism during a political revolution?

II. By what constructive ways and means should the anarchist movement, in your opinion, try to change a political into a social revolution?

III. What successive stages of practical, social-economical procedure do you suggest in order to reach the social revolution and thereby realize our anarchistic aim?

I am sure that our ablest comrades all over the world will at once set themselves to work and fulfill this most important, urgent task, to answer these queries. It is by no means only for the benefit of the Spanish movement alone, but it is a great task for the entire International of Anarchism. If the Spanish comrades initiate such an inquiry and entrust the valuation of its forthcoming material to trustworthy brains and hands, they will, I am sure, thereby have averted a great danger for themselves, relieved their responsibility before the international movement and done a very good thing for the intellectual and practical development of Anarchism. Nothing than such an international inquiry is, I repeat it, more likely to avert that what is for us the greatest danger: a disaster of the, in the nobility of its history and its comradeship, undoubtedly glorious revolutionary Spanish anarchist movement and its real mission within the Spanish revolution. If successful, it can be the harbinger of international revival and advent of the social revolution.

PIERRE RAMUS

The World We Live In

Miss Willie Blagden and Rev. Claude C. Williams, socialists, were lashed by a mob of tennant farm exploiters at Earle, Ark., when they went to investigate the brutal murdering of Frank Weems, 40-year-old Negro member of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union . . . The world will evidently never know what crime the Stammer lawyer of Fresno, Cal., perpetrated against Elton Stone, laborer, that drove the latter to avenge himself by killing the Stammer 14 year-old girl. He charged, before being executed, his "defense" lawyers appointed by the court in hastening the noose around his neck. The Northern office of the American Civil Liberties Union did nothing to aid in uncovering the background of this double sacrifice of human lives—although this column called upon them to do so . . . George Van Smith, former prison board chairman of California said this on July 9th: "In the past 30 years I can't point out one single person hanged in California who had more than \$10,000 assets or some influential friends. That is why justice is becoming known as a purchasable quantity . . . only bums are hanged." . . . Walley, the elephant of the San Francisco zoo, is dead. A zoo directors' "jury" and court judge decreed his murder when Walley trampled his keeper to death for preventing him from mating.

George Heidt, New York City policeman, banked \$83,500 in eight years . . . Erwin Werner openly admitted paying \$400 to Assemblyman Charles W. Lyon of the California legislature. Max Silverman testified he paid \$585 to a rum board representative of the same state. City manager of Alameda, Calif., and the whole city council stand accused of collecting all sorts of graft. Officials of Oakland, Calif., home for the blind, ditto. More than a score of leading police officials of San Francisco exposed as banking from 50 to 750 thousand dollars—nearly all of them refusing to testify or refute the charge of graft-earned money from protecting vice.

Shouted Senator Barkley at Philadelphia: "Over, against the hosannas of Hoover, for the tortured interpretation of the constitution, I place the tortured bodies and souls of men who work and pray, of women whose God-given right is not fulfilled in a sweatshop." . . . Add to this the following from the ventriloquist of the Swope-Young gang, F. D. Roosevelt: ". . . the American people shall not be thwarted in their high purpose to remain the custodians of their own destiny . . . Men fought here for principles they loved more dearly than their own lives. Liberty-loving people will always do battle for principles they believe to be right." . . . Now, hark to the voice of Herby Hoover: "Throughout the land there are multitudes of people who have listened to the song of the sirens. Under their distress they doubt the value of their own rights and liberties. They do not see the Constitution as a fortress for their deliverance. When the standards of honor and morals fail in government they fail in the people . . . Have you determined (this was addressing the choicest thieves of Republicans assembled at Cleveland) to enter in a holy crusade for liberty which shall determine the future and the perpetuity of a nation of free men?" . . . When asked why he established headquarters at Cleveland and in Philadelphia during the Republican and the Democratic conventions Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman, founder of the Oxford God racketeering Group answered that his aim was to let "God write the 'platform' of both parties . . . The same senate that approved Roosevelt's waste of millions for preparedness to slaughter in war time broke its heart before allotting \$15,000 to an investigation of curtailment of personal liberty, free speech and interference with the rights of labor to organize . . . Preceding three months of the national conventions the following sums were spent by political groupings: Republicans, \$570,000; Democrats, \$384,000; Liberty League, \$150,000; Coughlin's Union for Social Justice, \$175,000 . . .

Thirty per cent of all the American farmers must do part-time work off their farms in order to subsist . . . The Federal Government relief costs rose \$300,000,000 more in 1935 than in 1934. The total cost for 1935 was \$4,096,433,367.

The N. Y. Times of June 14 reports that Nazi organs in Germany have begun printing protests of workers against the regime. In one such unsigned communication it is said: "Never was capitalism more powerful nor did it enjoy more preference than today . . . We are workers and we do not understand what you say about 50 pfennigs to justify the big profits of industry. The very same thing was told to us formerly."

The Canadian Commons has finally voted the repeal of the infamous sedition act of 1919 and under which so many radicals were being persecuted . . . (The efforts of our collaborator Neils Turnspur to have the present liberal government rescind the ban against MANI has as yet not borne any fruit.) The confederation of Mexican workers has taken the initiative of forming World Unions in the American hemisphere. These will comprise the leading industries such as sugar, alcohol, banana and coffee. An intensive technical study of these principle industries is contemplated. BERT HILLSIDE

Life and Death

In our groping after facts we are like the faltering footsteps of little children, and like them, find so much we do not understand. We try to solve the mystery of life and death, and because we are unable to do so, our mind is filled with fear. Thus so many accept or conjure up religions with the hope that it solves the mystery of death. They do not seem to understand that death is as natural as birth and the living things we see, such as animals and vegetation, are like our bodies, in that they must be replaced with new ones as the old wears out.

We mourn the passing of those who are dear to us, not realizing at the time, that the good they have done acts as an inspiration in our struggles for a more perfect life. All of us are building blocks in the hands of Destiny.

The question of the why or meaning of life does not interfere with my joy of living. My happiness lies in my children and their offsprings, in my daily adventures, in the here and now, and in a realization of mental contentment with my station of life.

I try to do my part in helping others—in raising the standard of life to a higher state of perfection. Why do I act thus if death means complete annihilation? I cannot answer.

I do not get discouraged when I see so much misery and tragedy about me, for I realize that only through ignorance do we suffer. I know that the torch of knowledge will lead us eventually to the goal of peace and happiness.

HUGH BRADFORD REED

Replies

W. S. Allen: Your inquiry as to why MANI does not exchange with "Pelley's Weekly" is answered by yourself when adding: "For reasons best known to itself it is anti-Jewish." Since you wrote this the "reasons" too are now known to everyone. "Pelley's Weekly" has been exposed at the Black Legion trial for murder as a sponsor and spokesman for that newly arisen Klu Klux Klan gang outfit.

You also write: "The Jewish nationality through capitalism is getting a mortgage on the universe, therefore we must eliminate capitalism and thereby curtail the obnoxious ascendancy of both Jew and Gentile to a most important degree or extent." "Fortune" the magazine of the exploiters of the land has recently published the result of a thorough investigation of the Jews in America. They found that proportionately the Jews occupy a lesser predominance in the financial and industrial world than a higher one. With your state of a prejudiced mind against the Jews we see no reason to continue sending you our journal—as a courtesy—or for any similar minded reader to continue subscribing to it.

IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

Political Circus Officially Opened

These last few weeks have certainly been strenuous ones—both for politicians and the 40 million-voting "citizenship." Aside from the pages of news devoted to the outpourings of every political party the air was filled with the same stuff. A review of their doings in "behalf of the people" is therefore quite in place.

The opening paragraph of the Republican platform reads:

America is in peril. The welfare of American men and women and the future of our youth are at stake. We dedicate ourselves to the preservation of their political liberty, their individual opportunity and their character as free citizens, which today for the first time are threatened by the government itself, and to seek its constant betterment in the interest of all.

Would such a paragraph have been given as a monologue over a radio broadcast by the "perfect fool"—Ed. Wynn—one could but have had a good laugh at it. But being dished out as serious stuff by a political party it can only be classed as the choicest piece of political demagogery ever penned down in any political platform.

The Democratic platform, if measured by its claims and promises, runs a very close second to the Republican one. Its choicest morsel of demagogery is embodied in the paragraph before the final one of their platform, and reads:

Dedicated to a government of liberal American principles, we are determined to oppose equally the despotism of communism and the menace of concealed fascism...

The Union party created by the silver jesuitical racketeering priest Coughlin outdid anything that any political party ever done in this country: being given birth to over a radio broadcast that included the "nomination" of its presidential candidate as well! This is machine-age triumph with a vengeance.

The Socialist party, after splitting itself and refusing coalition with the now ranking opportunists—the communists, readily accepted, after the convention, within its fold the Cannon-American Trotsky group. It declared itself as the leading bulwark against fascism in this country.

The communist party topped the comedy acts of the opening of the political circus. It hired Madison Square Garden in New York City as well as the two leading broadcasting stations of the country. It had to limit the acceptance speeches of its candidates to about 12 minutes and rehearse its followers to limit their yellings and clappings to but three minutes for each candidate. If this was not enough for the anti-parliamentarians of yesterday, its presidential candidate offered opportunistic benediction upon all those labor fakirs who have organized leagues for the reelection of Roosevelt, since, said he, anything but Landon is preferable. If this is his party's belief, then, wherein lies its honesty in putting forth an opposition candidate to Roosevelt?

* * *

The even more significant and outstanding humbug of the whole political game is the manner in which all the candidates were "chosen" at the conventions.

The oil promoting racketeer and errand boy of Hearst, the oil and Wall street interests of America—Mr. Landon—was known to have been chosen as the "winner" at Cleveland more than a year before the convention opened its sessions. The present office boy of the Swope-Young clique of "wiser" exploiters of the land, Mr. Roosevelt, was known to all—as the approved candidate to succeed himself. Thomas knew that he will be the Socialist candidate, split or no split. Browder knew that he was to be the candidate of the Communists.

Why then was there any need for the few millions that were spent for useless conventions? These, dear reader, are the ways of the political game in America's great "democracy." The voting citizenship must be "taken in" by oratories and drum beatings, shouting and dirt throwing, meaningless platforms and vain promises—before it can be brought to make use of its "greatest of all gifts"—to give sanction in being legally fleeced, exploited and ruled for another four years.

* * *

The sincere followers of the Socialist and Communist parties would be doing themselves a great benefit if they were to stop for a moment in questioning the road upon which their leaders are so keenly interested in having them trod upon. They need but look with critical eyes at what is now going on in Spain and in France. In both of these countries left fronts of the liberal-socialist-communist movement have triumphed and are equally responsible for the governments now reigning there. Yet, despite this fact, the more than 30,000 political prisoners of Spain were liberated only immediately after the direct revolutionary action of the militant workers began. And in France one witnesses a series of "sit-in" General Strikes and seizure of factories that has forced the government to put into law a 40-hour week and a 30 per cent increase in wages. The final outcome in Spain as well as in France rests now, as ever, with the calibre of foresight and militancy that the workers will meet the threatening menace of reactionary fascism. Both left governments are coddling with the reptile snakes of mankind—and this is the way that can but end in the latter's gaining supremacy in the combat. One hopes that the love for true liberty and the readiness to fight for its maintenance ever so often revealed by the people of Spain and France will prevent such a calamity from taking place.

* * *

Political upheavals have never in the history of man's struggle for political and social emancipation changed worlds. But the revolutionary action of the people always did. The opening of the political circus campaign has already revealed enough of the rankest sort of dishonesty, duplicity, deceit and charlatanism that no sincere liberty loving person should ever want to have anything to do with participating in the perpetuation of an institution that but serves as the dog-protector of legalized theft through human exploitation of every sort, the Government.

The Black Legion and "Justice"

When Sinclair Lewis wrote a year ago his anti-fascist novel "It Can't Happen Here" he had to draw, as the N. Y. Times points out, on the doings of fascist and nazis in Italy or Germany. Had he waited but another year the revelations already made in the uncovering of the Black Legion would have furnished him with all the fascist characters he needed.

The disclosures of the manner in which Charles A. Poole was murdered by Dayton Dean and his co-Black Legionaires is something that ought to serve as an eye opener to all the revolutionary forces of this country as to how close we are in being engulfed in the same torturous hell of fascism and nazism that the people of Italy and Germany now find themselves in.

The whole set-up of the Black Legion runs parallel with the creation and birth of fascism and nazism. The exploiters of the land, the legally protected thieves constituting our industrial barons, are the actual founders of it. Their agents picked out the kind of creatures best suited to become its members: vain creatures who when clothed in robes think themselves important. Upon the issues of the alien and red menace they were easily won over. From there on to becoming stool pigeons upon any workers who spoke of the need of a union was but an easy paved road. To add to the sanctity of the fascist doing of the set-up, politicians, ministers of the church, and leading officials of the government (in Detroit over 100 of the police force are said to be members of the Black Legion) were recruited. New members were picked and forced into the Legion by methods of terror. Recalcitrants were dealt with by physical torture, including that of actual murder—as in the case of Poole. It is believed that the Black Legion has carried out innumerable other murders. Its membership is said to be spread out in one-third of the States of the union.

To top everything in the disclosures made, it became known that the "famous" G-men have been aware of the doings of the Black Legion for the last 18 months, and, of course, did nothing about it. This may cause some surprise to the naive, but not at all to the anarchist. Since force and violence, terror and murder are the chief props upon which all governments rest—why should they mind then when secretive bands are being formed for the avowed purpose of perpetuating exactly the same system that they do?

To still further elucidate the role of the government in the existence and doings of the Black Legion it is not out of place to draw upon an incident that happened in this country 35 years ago. The country was then undergoing an economic crisis. Misery and want stalked throughout the land. The head of the Government, William McKinley, did nothing about it. And out of Cleveland came to Buffalo on September 6th a native wandering forlorn youth by the name of Leon Czolgosz. He decided to avenge his plight, as well as of those millions of others who were suffering in the land. He fired at McKinley, who was then visiting Buffalo. Tortured and beaten—half dead—he was executed on October 29th, 1901, his last words being: "I did it for the people, for the good of the workers of America."

But this was by no means all that happened following the act of Leon Czolgosz. The office of the anarchist weekly, *Free Society* at Chicago was raided. Every known anarchist was thrown in jail—all because Leon Czolgosz had once listened to an anarchist lecture! His disillusion with the Socialist Labor Party of which he was a member led him to a desire of learning the ideas of anarchism just about the time he carried out his deed.

Notice then the contrast between the two kinds of "justice" being meted out: Dayton Dean, Black Legion murderer of Charles A. Poole, gets off with a prison sentence that will soon be commuted, but Leon Czolgosz, the radical, is half tortured to death, being led to the execution chambers! The G-men now for 18 months know of the doings of the Black Legion but do nothing about it. Every known anarchist is jailed by the government agents as suspected accomplices of Leon Czolgosz!

The explanation for this double-kind of "justice" is not a hard one to find. The Black Legion was founded to serve the interests and perpetuation of the present society of which every government agency is a part. The anarchist movement points at the present society including every government agency, as the bulwark of exploitation and oppression that must be destroyed before mankind can ever embark upon a road of peace, contentment and happiness.

The Arab and Jewish Ordeal in Palestine

The bitter feuds that once more are ravaging the "holy" land have already resulted in scores of deaths on the side of the Arabs who are the "majority" of the population, as well as on the side of the Jews who are the "minority." The number of those jailed and sentenced is not definitely known.

There are those who readily blame the fascist government of Italy as the instigators of the race feuds. Others blame the Nazi government of Germany along the same line. The first, it is being asserted, aiming to hurt the British government, and the latter to avenge themselves on the more than 100,000 Jews who have escaped from their clutches. The truth lies though somewhere else. The whole blame for every life lost, injured or now suffering imprisonment are none other than the rulers of Britain as well as those chauvinistic nationalist Jews who made it their goal to once more turn the "holy" land into a Jewish land.

Palestine is no more, at present, a land belonging to the Arabs than it could ever become a land of the Jews. It is a mere colony ruled over by British exploiters and rulers. The only ones who are reaping direct benefits are the British rulers and exploiters. It has ever been thus: the wrong-doers of mankind have at all times shrewdly manipulated and made use of race and color as a cloak under which to strengthen their reign. The Czar did that in Russia. Hitler is doing it in Germany. Great

Britain is nursing it in Palestine. The whites are doing it in the southern states of America against the Negroes. And so it goes on all along the line.

The issue of race and color, that regretfully enough makes often its inroad even into radical and revolutionary circles, cannot be solved as long as social justice has not dawned upon mankind. That fact alone, the only realistic one that should be kept in mind at all times, must be borne in mind by the Jewish race. It must cease to allow itself in falling prey to those Zionist mis-leaders who urge them to migrate to Palestine where nothing but disillusion, if not worse fate, awaits them.

The ordeals that the Jew and the Negro is forced to undergo as a result of the unjust society we now live under everywhere makes it that more imperative, needful and justifiable for both the Jew and Negro to throw their lot in with those revolutionary forces that are striving and struggling for the complete obliteration from the face of the earth of that kind of a social system that thrives on national demarcation lines, territorial boundaries, race and color hatred, and human exploitation.

Sham Battles in Labor's Name

The battle that is being fought between Mr. John L. Lewis and Mr. William Green has only placed the emphasis on the rottenness and dishonesty that is ever so often the actual status of every "organized" labor leadership throughout the world.

To fancy for one moment that the Messrs. Lewisis, Hillmans and Dubinskys are sincerely fighting for organizing the unorganized into industrial unions is to lull oneself to a wishful hope, and no more. Each of these aforementioned individuals have at one time or another been engaged in hiring thugs to beat up (and in the instance of Lewis—even kill) sincere rank and file members who refused to close their eyes to the misdeeds and agreement betrayals foisted upon them. Their attempt to hide behind the issue of organizing the steel workers is not fooling those who know better. Their real aim is attempting to wrest the power of the American Federation of Labor from the Green clique that is now in control.

Neither of the two cliques have the concern of the steel workers, or of any other workers for that matter, at heart. Green's record is black enough with the rankest sort of treachery to need repetition in these pages. But the record of his opponents are none the better.

The Greens and Lewisis have repeatedly proven themselves as the Judases of labor's true interests. The organized as well as the unorganized workers of America have as yet to learn that as long as they continue to entrust their fate with either such cliques of traitors their emancipation from economic and political slavery will remain but a nightmare.

The "Nation" and Truth

The July 11th issue of the *Nation* carries an editorial note on the death of Alexander Berkman that reads in part:

The suicide of Alexander Berkman... is symbolic of the fate of the anarchist movement in a world which tends to become increasingly absolutist and authoritarian...

The journal that prayed before Wilson, Roosevelt, Lenin and now before Stalin, suffers very little from lack of a presumptuous and authoritative judgment. It is an eloquent, but vain poser. Questioning of any of its misrepresentations or lies are taboo, as is well known to readers of this journal. Only this queer question may dawn upon the more thoughtful of its readers: Why is it, that out of all the hundreds of newspapers and journals espousing all isms only one lone monthly voice of anarchism—MAN!—is singled out by the Government for continuous persecution? Does it not belie the claims of the *Nation* and prove that, perhaps, all other political movements—excepting the anarchist one—are the real suicide movements that rulers need bother very little about?

Maxim Gorky

The passing of Maxim Gorky removes from the scene of life one of those figures that will undoubtedly occupy a deserving place of honor in the world's literature as well as in the story of mankind's liberation. From an illiterate boy to a man of world renown—does not this prove in a grandiose manner—the possibilities of a future mankind to unfold itself in all its glory? Not only had he become the champion spokesman of suffering Russia, but equally challenged the "scientific" medical profession that had decreed death against him more than 40 years ago.

One cannot overlook that the rebel—Gorky, against every kind of injustice—had made peace, nay, worked hand in hand—with a government that has more than one political crime to its conscience. True, it is known, that often enough Gorky pleaded for the life and liberty of many whom he knew to be sincere revolutionists or men of letters. But in the end he became an open apologist for everything that the Bolshevik regime stood for. The glories heaped upon him so shrewdly by the rulers of present Russia turned, as it seems, his head. This fact every lover of liberty will regret whenever one will think of the name of Maxim Gorky. Exactly the same could be said about the passing of Henry Barbusse, or of the living Romain Rolland.

MARCUS GRAHAM

Readers and collaborators are asked to kindly withhold from forwarding any kind of correspondence, money or manuscripts on our present address until such time as our new address will be announced.

ANARCHIST IDEAS: "Anarchism Versus Socialism"

WILLIAM C. OWEN

We are passing through a period of intense suffering, from which none of the so-called civilized countries is exempt. As I see things, however, it is not by any iron law of Nature that millions today are starving. It is not because the earth is niggardly, or because industrial development is backward, that grinding poverty, with all the mental and spiritual degradation grinding poverty entails, is still the almost universal lot. Poverty exists because, even today, the masses regard themselves as doomed to helplessness, and are well satisfied if some outside power gives them a chance to make a living. Yet Man is not naturally helpless. By his inventive genius he has now conquered his environment, and want and the fear of want are today unnatural and artificial ills.

Thus, as I understand it, do Anarchists regard the social problem, and here our quarrel with the Socialists comes immediately into full view. To us the problem is not merely economic. We do not think that a certain stage of industrial development must be reached before men are ripe for freedom. Still less do we believe in the fatalistic dogma that by the necessary evolution of the present system the problem will solve itself. We hold that man is servile because he has been drilled into servility, and remains helpless because he accepts his helplessness as unalterable. To us, therefore, the promotion of individuality, and the encouragement of the spirit of revolt against whatever institutions may be unworthy of humanity, are everything. We are rebels against slavery, and we understand that men will win their way to freedom only when they yearn to be free.

Back of all this infamy stands always the Government machine; dead to all human sympathy, as are all machines; bent only on increasing its efficiency as a machine, and enlarging its power; organized expressly to keep things, in all essentials, precisely as they are. It is the arch-type of immobility, and, therefore, the foe of growth. It is the quintessence of compulsion, and, therefore, the enemy of freedom. To it the individual is a subject, of whom it demands unquestioning obedience. Necessarily we Anarchists are opposed to it. We do not dream, as do the Socialists, of making it the one great Monopolist, and therefore the sole arbiter of life. On the contrary, we seek to whittle away its powers, that it may be reduced to nothingness and be succeeded by a society of free individuals, equipped with equal opportunities and arranging their own affairs by mutual agreement.

On the other hand, he who cries for more Government is declaring himself an advocate of the military type, wherein society is graded into classes and all life's business conducted by inferiors obeying orders issued by the superior command. That offers the worker only permanent inferiority and enslavement, and against that he should revolt. Man is, by the very essence of his being and by the quality of his natural gifts, too fine to be treated as an inferior. He is meant to be a co-operator, uniting with his fellow-creatures on a basis of equality and clothed, as a member of the human race, with equal rights. This is his proper due, and I am very positive that nothing less than this can bring us social peace. Here no compromise is possible, and if established institutions bar the way, Man owes it to his own dignity to abolish or remodel and remodel them, until they are brought into harmony with this fundamental law of life.

On the correct interpretation of life everything depends, and the question is as to which of these two conflicting interpretations is correct. Always and everywhere the entire social struggle hinges on that very point, and every one of us has his feet set, however unconsciously, in one or other of these camps. Some would sacrifice the individual, and all minorities, to the supposed interests of the collective whole. Others are equally convinced that a wrong inflicted on one member poisons the whole body, and that only when it renders full justice to the individual will society be once more on the road to health.

When a man says he is an anarchist he puts on himself the most definite of labels. He announces that he is a "no rule" man. "Anarchy"—compounded of the Greek words "ana," without, and "arche," rule—gives in a nutshell the whole of his philosophy. His one conviction is that men must be free; that they must own themselves.

Anarchists do not propose to invade the individual rights of others, but they propose to resist, and do resist, to the best of their ability, all invasion by others. To order your own life, as a responsible individual, without invading the lives of others, is freedom; to invade and attempt to rule the lives of others is to constitute yourself an enslaver; to submit to invasion and rule imposed on you against your own will and judgment is to write yourself down a slave.

Essentially, therefore, anarchism stands for the free, unrestricted development of each individual; for the giving to each equal opportunity of controlling and developing his own particular life. It insists on equal opportunity of development for all, regardless of color, race, or class; on equal rights to whatever shall be found necessary to the proper maintenance and development of individual life; on a "square deal" for every human being, in the most literal sense of the term.

Moreover, it matters not to the anarchist whether the rule imposed on him is benevolent or malicious. In either case it is an equal trespass on his right to govern his own life. In either case the imposed rule tends to weaken him, and he recognizes that to be weak is to court oppression.

The pages of the world's foremost teachers—its scientists, its philosophers, its poets and dramatists—swarm with passages emphasizing the vital importance of liberty; the necessity of providing a favorable environment for each and every individual; the imperative demand for equality of opportunity for individual development; but in too many cases these writers fail to sum up the case and apply their principles to present conditions as anarchists unhesitatingly sum them up and apply them.

Anarchism concentrates its attention on the individual, con-

sidering that only when absolute justice is done to him or her will it be possible to have a healthy and happy society. For society is merely the ordinary citizen multiplied indefinitely, and as long as the individuals of which it is composed are treated unjustly, it is impossible for the body at large to be healthy and happy. Anarchism, therefore, cannot tolerate the sacrifice of the individual to the supposed interests of the majority, or to any of those high-



WILLIAM C. OWEN
(1854-1929)

sounding catchwords (patriotism, the public welfare, and so forth) for the sake of which the individual—and always the weakest individual, the poor, helpless working man and woman—is murdered and mutilated today, as he has been for untold ages past.

Anarchism demands imperatively that full and complete justice shall be done to each and every individual; that there shall be accorded to all full and equal opportunities for the development, conduct, and enjoyment of their lives; and it declares, as an incontestable truth, that the first step toward this inevitable goal is the absolute overthrow of all those artificial and life-destroying privileges by which a favored few are today permitted to gather into their hands unbounded wealth and power at the price of the impoverishment and slaughter of the masses.

In a word, the freedom of the individual, won by the abolition of special privileges and the securing to all of equal opportunities, is the gateway through which we must pass to the higher civilization that is already calling loudly to us.

It is urged that we anarchists have no plans; that we do not set out in detail how the society of the future is to be run. This is true. We are not inclined to waste our breath in guesses about things we cannot know. We are not in the business of putting humanity in irons. We are trying to get humanity to shake off its irons. We have no co-operative commonwealth, cut and dried, to impose on the generations yet unborn. We are living men and women, concerned with the living present, and we recognize that the future will be as the men and women of the future make it, which in its turn will depend on themselves and the conditions in which they find themselves; if we bequeath to them freedom they will be able to conduct their lives freely, as the changed and improved conditions, brought about by the growth of human intelligence and the added mastery of Nature that will spring from such intelligence, may dictate.

To overthrow human slavery, which is always the enslavement of individuals, is anarchism's one and only task. It is not interested in making men better under slavery, because it considers that impossible—a statement before which the ordinary reader probably will stand aghast. It seems, therefore, necessary to remind him once again that anarchists are realists who try to see life as it is, here on this earth, the only place where we can study it, indeed the only place whereon, so far as hitherto discovered, human life exists. Our view is that of the biologist. We take Man as we find him, individually and as a member of a species. We see him subject to certain natural laws, obedience to which brings healthy growth while disobedience entails decay and untimely death. This to us is fundamental, and much of anarchism's finest literature is devoted to it.

It is not the champions of freedom who are responsible for violent revolutions, but those who, in their ignorant insanity, believe they can serve humanity by putting it in irons and further happiness by fettering mankind. We may be passing even now into such a thralldom, for democracy, trained from time immemorial to servility, has not yet learned the worth of freedom, and plutocracy would only too gladly render all thought and knowledge subservient to its own profit-making schemes.

Let no one delude himself with the fallacy that governmental institutions under Socialist administration would be shorn of their present objectionable features. They would be precisely what they are today. If the workers were to come into possession of the means of production tomorrow, their administration under the most perfect form of universal suffrage—which the United States, for example, has been vainly trying to doctor into decent shape for generations past—would simply result in the creation of a special class of political managers, professing to act for the welfare of the majority. Were they as honest as the day—which

it is folly to expect—they could only carry out the dictates of the majority, and those who did not agree slavishly with those dictates would find themselves outcasts. In reality, we should have put a special class of men in absolute control of the most powerful official machine that the world has ever seen, and should have installed a new form of wage-slavery, with the State as master. And the workingman who was ill-used by the state would find it a master a thousand times more difficult to overthrow than the most powerful of private employers.

Apparently Socialists cannot conceive of a society run on other than the most strictly centralized principles. This seems to us a profound error.

The most important and powerful factor in production and every form of activity is the human factor. This factor, longing more and more for the opportunity of individual expression, is in constant rebellion against all efforts to reduce it to the level of a mere cog in a machine, economic or political. Being by far the strongest element it inevitably will win its way, sooner or later, no matter how adverse the conditions for the moment may seem to be.

The delusion respecting machinery has led the Socialists into ridiculous assumptions on the subject of centralization in general, committing them for a couple of generations past to the pipe-dream that under the regime of capitalism the middle class is doomed, by the natural development of the economic system, to speedy extinction. The fallacy of this position has been shown over and over again by irrefutable statistics taken from governmental income tax and similar returns; but it is unnecessary even to quote figures in this matter. Anyone who will take the trouble to put on his observation cap can see clearly for himself that in such countries as Mexico and Russia, where the capitalistic system was in its infancy, the middle class has been small in numbers and insignificant in power. On the other hand, in proportion as the capitalistic system develops the numbers and influence of the middle class increase, until in America—the country in which capitalism has attained its greatest growth—it is well nigh omnipotent.

My own hatred of State Socialism, in all its forms, springs from my conviction that it fosters in the individual this terrible psychology of invasion; that it denies the existence of rights which should be secure from assault; that it teaches the individual that in himself he is of no account and that only as a member of the state has he any valid title to existence. That, as it seems to me, reduces him to helplessness, and it is the helplessness of the exploited that makes exploitation possible. From that flow, with inexorable logic, all wars, all tyrannies, all those despotic regulations and restrictions which today are robbing life of all its elasticity, its virility, its proper sweetness. State Socialism is a military creed, forged centuries ago by conquerors who put the world in chains. It is as old as the hills, and, like the hills, is destined to crumble into dust. Throughout the crisis of the past eight years its failure as even a palliative policy has been colossal.

It seems to me imperative that we should be clear upon this fundamental fact, and understand that our suffering and danger do not come from free industrialism but from an industrialism that is not free because it is enslaved by monopoly and caught fast in the clutches of that invasive military machine, the state. Monopoly is the enemy, the most dangerous enemy the world has known; and never was it so dangerous as now, when the state has made itself well nigh omnipotent. Monopoly is state-created, state upheld, and could not exist were it not for the organized violence with which everywhere the state supports it. At the behest of state-protected monopoly the ordinary man can be deprived at any moment of the opportunity of earning a livelihood, and thrown into the gutter. At the command of the state, acting always in the interests of monopoly, he can be converted at any moment into food for powder. Show me, if you can, a tyranny more terrible than that!

I call myself an anarchist because, as it appears to me, anarchism is the only philosophy that grips firmly and voices unambiguously this central, vital truth. It is either a fallacy or a truth, and anarchism is either right or wrong. If anarchism is right, it cannot compromise in any shape or form with the existing state regime without convicting itself thereby of dishonesty and infidelity to truth. Tyranny is not a thing to be shored up or made endurable, but a disease to be recognized frankly as unendurable and purged out of the social system. Personally I am a foe to all schemes for bolstering up the present reign of violence, and I cannot regard the compulsions of trade unionism, syndicalism, and similar states-within-states, as bridges from the old order to the new, and wombs in which the society of the future is being molded. Such analogies seem to me ridiculous and fatally misleading. Freedom is not an embryo. Freedom is not a puling, helpless infant struggling into birth. Freedom is the greatest force at our command; the one incomparable constructor capable of beating swords into ploughshares and converting this war-stricken desert of a world into a decent dwelling place.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

(May 15 to June 15)

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------|
| Income | \$ 94.83 |
| Expenditures | 121.15 |
| Deficit from last Issue | .32 |
| Income | \$121.47 |
| Deficit | 94.64 |
| Deficit | 26.64 |

(Received from affairs of groups from May 15 to June 15)

Detroit, Michigan, \$5.00; Newark, N. J., \$2.50; Cleveland, Ohio, \$5.00; Dedham, Mass., \$10.00; Philadelphia, Pa., A. G. \$17.00; Los Angeles, Calif., \$18.00.

... BOOK REVIEWS ...

Sawdust Caesar by George Seldes, Harpers, N. Y., 1935.

Banished from both Russia and Italy for writing the truth about dictatorship, George Seldes tempers his denunciation of Mussolini with a picture of the tyrant of a father whose whippings produced the pattern of cowardice which has resulted in the bully known today as Mussolini. The history of his extreme radicalism, his association with Angelica Balabanoff, the companion of Lenin in Switzerland, his utter lack of character, his fear, his pitiable opportunism, and his thirst for power in which he in five days sold out to the Allies—Marcel Cachin, now the great French Communist, being the intermediary—and his offer to lead the Fascists against the government rather than for it, is shown in interesting detail.

For the Anarchist his present position toward the State as supreme: "Our formula is this: everything within the State, outside the State, nothing against the State," contrasts greatly with his former assertion in the *Popolo d'Italia* of April 6, 1920: "Down with the State, the State of yesterday, today and tomorrow. There remains for me nothing but the consoling religion of Anarchism."

Sawdust Caesar is a well documented book, giving in detail many of the facts which radicals speak of but of which they may not have the exact proof. All that we hear about Fascism in Italy, of its failure, of its lack of freedom, of the lying tactics of Mussolini are proven to be true. In the history of the struggle of all libertarians for a free society Mussolinis come and go, but a few lessons may appear for our consideration. Mussolini's father was a radical, who by his tyranny at home produced the coward who now retaliates against all within his reach. The Anarchist assertion that power corrupts and that those whose character is based upon freedom and cooperation are the necessary components of a free society would thus seem to be true.

Seldes quotes Marmontek, a prisoner in the Bastille who complained of his lack of liberty, as being consoled by his jailer as follows: "It is true you are not allowed to go out of here, but inside the Bastille you are as free as any man in the world." This is the sort of freedom that obtains in the dungeons of Italy, Germany and Russia.

AMMON A. HENNACY.

* * *

The Principles of Anarchism—By Dr. J. A. Meryson. Translated from the Jewish by A. Grossner. The Jewish Anarchist Federation of America, 45 W. 17th Street, New York City, 32 page pamphlet, 10 cents.

To attempt an outline of the principles of anarchism within the limits of a 32 page pamphlet is perhaps next to impossible, laudable as the undertaken task no doubt appears to be.

At the end of the 1890's Dr. Paul Eltzbacher of Germany brought forward his exposition ANARCHISM—representing seven variant exponents of the anarchist philosophy. (In 1908 Benjamin R. Tucker brought out in English a very able translation of this volume made by Steven T. Byington. The book is now out of print.) Dr. Eltzbacher was himself not an adherent of the anarchist philosophy. This though didn't prevent the anarchist world from greeting and accepting his work as an honest exposition of anarchism as expounded by some of its better known theoreticians.

How then did Dr. Meryson, as compared to Dr. Eltzbacher, fulfill his obligation that the title implies? He starts out in the following manner:

The conception of individual freedom is, in its essence, a negative one: freedom from, not freedom to; freedom from another's coercion, from restraint by another's will; not freedom to do as one pleases, in relation to others, not freedom to take whatever is one's power, as Stirner maintained, P. 5.

This is far from a clear explanation of individual freedom, and certainly most unfair to the ideas expounded by Max Stirner. But I shall let better the words of Stirner bespeak of Dr. Meryson's interpretation: Stirner writes this about freedom:

Freedom can only be the whole of freedom; a piece of freedom is not freedom... Why will you not take the courage to really make yourselves the central point and the main thing altogether? Why grasp in the air at freedom, your dream?

Dr. Meryson then proceeds, and in quite an authoritative manner, to assert:

It must also be understood that not every behavior and practice, which certain anarchists link with the conception of freedom, has essentially anything to do with anarchist principles. A practice like free love, in the vulgar sense; the liberty of satisfying all sorts of lust; the liberty of blasphemous heresy, or even the precept of extreme freedom in education of children. P. 5.

The best answer I could give on all this is to ask the reader to kindly reread again the erstwhile quoted words of Stirner in order to fully understand the limited state of mind of Dr. Meryson as far as real freedom is concerned.

"With the greatest of ease," as Saroyan's "Man on the Flying Trapeze" would say, Dr. Meryson discards the ideas of William Godwin as those of an "ethical moralist," those of Tolstoi as of a "Christian moralist," and those of Tucker as an "absurdity." The only two theoreticians that Dr. Meryson chooses to discuss are Proudhon and Kropotkin.

On Proudhon Dr. Meryson devotes about ten pages of excerpts alone, chiefly from "The General Idea of the Revolution of the 19th Century." Added to this are about three pages of excerpts on Mutualism. The manner in which the excerpts are introduced leave no doubt in the mind of the reader that Dr. Meryson considers himself a proud disciple of Proudhon, proclaiming the latter's "free contract" theory as the soundest

of any in the basic foundation of an anarchist society. Without even realizing it, as it seems, Dr. Meryson demolishes the soundness of his own erected citadel, in these words:

Proudhon demands, in the name of justice, that society life be based on the legal criterion that agreements and contracts must be fulfilled and carried out. He does not subscribe to the subtle, abstract morality which maintains, as does Godwin, that no contract or promise must be binding on anyone, because, if what one promised to do is good, one will do it anyway, and, if it is not good, no contract can bind one to do it." (P. 10.)

Further on Dr. Meryson supports the Proudhonian People's Bank theory, which, in the final analysis, leaves the monetary system intact in a supposedly anarchist society. He ends his eulogy of Proudhon's ideas and of Mutualism by the authoritative assertion that:

... it may be stated that the Proudhonian point of view is nearer to anarchism... than that of Kropotkin.

The manner in which Dr. Meryson proceeds to present the ideas of Kropotkin are anything but fair. Instead of presenting the thoughts of Kropotkin by quoting from Kropotkin, as he did in the case of Proudhon, he gives but one meager page of excerpts, and devotes about eight pages in answering with his own and Proudhon's reasoning, the anarchist communist thoughts of Kropotkin.

The high water mark of what is in the background of Dr. Meryson's mind, and which explains also why Bakunin has been incorporated by him together with Kropotkin, is to be found in these thoughts:

Complete annihilation of the present order of society; to make a tabula rasa of society, as Most was wont to advocate; to bring about the social revolution through "direct action" and continuous uprisings became the only tactics for the building of the new anarchist society... It reached a point where an outstanding anarchist (Tcherkessoff) quite boldly

declared: "Revolution plus communism is anarchism." What intense repulsion this formula must have given him when he lived to see how remote from anarchism, revolution and communism turned out to be in Russia!" (P. 28.)

This sort of interpretation I call totally unbecoming to a scholar like Dr. Meryson, even if he does not believe in the revolutionary anarchism of Bakunin, Kropotkin, Most or Tcherkessoff!

I have spoken at the outset of Dr. Eltzbacher's classical work on anarchism. The reader will no doubt now guess why. My disappointment in the pamphlet of Dr. Meryson is the more keener because it comes from the pen of one who not only considers himself an anarchist, but has likewise by his long and unceasing and painstaking labors rendered into the Jewish language many classical works of anarchism, as also some of the socialist ones. He was the one, who as editor of the Jewish anarchist weekly *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, threw up his position in 1918 rather than compromise on seeing in the Bolshevik Government anything else but a government.

The weakness of Dr. Meryson's mental background lies somewhere else. In the days of Merlino's parliamentarianist activity, Dr. Meryson was its chief exponent, and a very lone one indeed, in the Jewish Anarchist movement. Although he does not bring to life now that issue, the reader can easily discern as to what accounts for all those thoughts that Dr. Meryson upholds and which are most alien to the anarchist movement throughout the world of today.

Whatever the mental attitude of Dr. Meryson may happen to be, and which he has, of course, the right to expound, it is a real puzzle to me as to how, or for what reason, the Jewish Anarchist Federation which assumes to believe in the Anarchist Communism of Peter Kropotkin should issue such a pamphlet, first in the Jewish language, and afterwards find it necessary to bring it also out in an English translation!

MARCUS GRAHAM

Correspondence and Discussion

Acharya Labadie Theories Criticized

Every time I read articles such as those by Laurence Labadie and Acharya in your last issue I become somewhat depressed. Both have not the faintest idea of economics and the real problem of our time, which, incidentally has been the greatest problem of all times since civilization began.

To take Acharya first: Money today is but the medium of exchange and the measure of value. It is a certificate of value, a receipt, having no value in itself. And it is issued against goods produced, and against nothing else. The very fact that the government is now digging a big hole in the center of the country to dump all the gold back, should prove even to the layman that it can have no value, as a medium of exchange.

If our friend Acharya had followed the development of the theory of money, from the 16th century on, he would not write such a nonsense. And if he had studied the history of money, he would know that the essence of money has changed throughout all historic time. And it has changed with its changed use. There are three steps which money takes: first it is merely a money of account, it does not exist in any visible form, and value is counted in terms of the staple food of the country, as wheat, fish, cattle, etc. After that metal is used, copper, silver, then gold, and it is minted. And by that time governments have been established. With the increase in trade, the progress of conquests, the accumulation of vast wealth in the hands of a few, new devices of transfer of values become necessary, since to ship gold is too cumbersome, risky and in fact useless. Consequently paper money in one form or other has to be used. Today we use credit which is a banker's service, for bank credit is issued against either existing goods or goods in the process of manufacture or production. The banker lends to the producer the value of the producer's goods, and charges him for the service. This is a joke, and has been recognized as such. It is, however, the consequence of the competitive game, which reduces everyone to the state of beggary, except a few.

Value under competition is determined by various factors: monopoly control, purchasing power in the first instance, next utility, finally the relation of supply and demand. There is no "law" of "supply and demand" regulating the value of things. Only under competitive conditions, that is under the profit motive do men attempt to extort money by withholding supply, or do they try to enrich themselves at the expense of their fellowmen.

Therefore the abandonment of the gold standard will only have a favorable result, since it takes away from the owners of the power to extort from the producers, of goods a large share of their production. Of course, as long as money, even paper money or credit is controlled by private sources the conditions will not change greatly, for the bank note simply takes the place of gold, and all that has changed is merely the suspension of redemption, a state of affairs which has occurred many times during the last and this century.

Now as to Labadie's article. That in a competitive market, that is under the profit motive, the scarcer an article is, the more it will bring, provided that it belongs to the necessities of life, is a foregone conclusion. Under a non-competitive system, this would not be the case, for distribution would be regulated. Articles of necessity would be distributed according to need, and not according to ability to buy, so that a condition could not exist, where some people have one hundred pairs of shoes, while others have to go barefoot.

It is altogether disheartening to see, that even today when

the competitive system has once more broken down completely, there are still some men, and anarchists at that, who try to proclaim the virtues of competition, the most destructive force among men; and that after Kropotkin and Tolstoi and in spite of the wonderful results which the consumers' co-operatives have had wherever they have been tried. Yet the consumers' co-operatives are not truly co-operative as yet, they are a preliminary stage toward a final state of true co-operation.

This then, the introduction of a truly co-operative state, is society's real and most fundamental problem. And unless we solve it, that is, introduce it, we shall never get away from capitalism, communism, fascism, a government based on coercion, prisons, insane asylums, etc. For the criminal as well as the insane is a social product, the result of a system based on hatred and fear.

Has our friend Labadie ever considered that competition tries to abolish itself, is self-negating? Therefore absurd? That co-operation, on the other hand, is building up, increasing? Man in isolation, that is, under competitive conditions, loses his balance, must lose it, while the social intercourse of men rubs off their corners, enables them to understand one another, and to create together, while under competitive conditions men try to prevent one another from creating things, since every new invention puts the others behind. Therefore patent laws and monopolies have come out of the competitive system, the erection of privileged classes, society, companies, etc. Free competition is rot. It is a fight of all against all, utterly destructive of all social values. It means a step back into the third century A. D. as far as the Christian civilization is concerned.

It is, as I said, very disheartening, to read articles such as the two mentioned above.

F. WERTGEN

* * *

"Nation" Suppresses Another Protest

Dear Sirs: In the *Nation* of April 29, 1936, a brief editorial note dealing with Judge Crane's decision upholding the constitutionality of the unemployment insurance act states also this: "It is refreshing to find a judge who is not an anarchist."

A lengthy editorial "Handing Down Justice" in the same issue deals with the Haymarket tragedy of 1886-87. The five martyrs who were judicially murdered are referred to as "radicals," when as a matter of fact every one knows that they were anarchists, and which fact played the leading factor in their being railroaded to death. The same editorial speaks also of the Homestead 1892 lockout-strike, but refrains from mentioning that Alexander Berkman, again an anarchist, staked his life, and served 14 years imprisonment for showing his solidarity toward that struggle.

As the editor of an anarchist journal I am prompted to ask: What motivates the editors of the *Nation*, in one place where it does not belong at all, to use the word *anarchist*, and in two other places where historical facts demand the words *anarchists* and *anarchist* in being mentioned, to intentionally avoid doing so?

Since the days of Marx, who originated such tactics, his disciples have made such practice the common rule. Has the *Nation* now joined the band-wagon?
MARCUS GRAHAM
May 2, 1936.

ART AND LITERATURE

A Group of Poems by Janice Brooke

Ariadni

I stalk the windless cornfields of the town
And lift a voice to speak to others;
It splashes on an unseen wall—runs down
In bloodless stream among the stones, and smothers
Their messages. I turn and glance
Behind me seeking comfort of my own
Shadow—to find it gone in timeless dance,
Treading the river of a soundless moan.

* * *

Eviction

And this was the Garden of Eden
When
Each man moved worshipfully
Each step taken
Prayerfully
When with each grain of thought
Carefully
Built upon another
And each stroke placed
Upon the vessel
The breath was held
In quiet invocation—

Each mouthful
Each glance
Were divine
Experience
And the going and the coming
Of the sun and stars
Were benediction:
And death the resigned
Wonderful ceasing of these.

This was Eden
Where the mountains chant
The psalms of the hills
And the valleys end
In far blue mist
Where the great gold plains
And the sweet blue shadows
Wait—

And then
A man built a fence
And another a wall
It wasn't Eve
It was a line down the middle of the road
It wasn't copulation
But survival
Nor the devil
But suspicion
And so came hunger
With one man believing one thing
(Or so he said)
And one another
And no man anything—
And so it came.
Not Cain
But religion
And so lost Paradise.

* * *

Little Boys

The flotsam and jetsam caught with the tides,
Idling aimlessly, sodden with lies,
Angels and archangels of compromise.
Masters without powers
Of mastery, heroes lacking
Heroism, each glowers
At nothing—fearlessly cracking
His whip over imagined throngs,
Seeking to right imagined wrongs;
Unreal realists, little boys
Playing games with harmful toys.

* * *

The Artist Goes To Work

I want no music
I want no loveliness
No delight, no pain
No softness, no wings
For I must murder my soul
I must love and hate dull things, like humans—
Someone told me so.

Aye, Soul
I must crush you
I must kill you
Be ashamed of you
Or I cannot eat—
The humans won't let me.
In the nice modern drinking-fountain I shall drown you . . .
Since you won't be put to sleep.

* * *

Sonnet

And what is courage? How is it perceived?
And loveliness—and love—the love of man
For men, the hating, fearful, cautious clan?
With deeds nor words alone are these achieved.
That quality of joyous love of self,
Of man's own trust and faith, his consciousness

The Joy of Life

(*La Joie de Vivre*—ALBERT LIBERTAD
translated by George Hedley)

Wearied by the struggle of life, how many close their eyes,
fold their arms, stop short, powerless and discouraged. How
many, and they among the best, abandon life as unworthy of
continuance. With the assistance of some fashionable theories,
and of a prevalent neurasthenia, men have come to regard death
as the supreme liberation.

To those who hold this view, society replies only by advancing
cliches. It speaks of the moral goal of life; argues that one has
not the right to kill himself, that moral sorrows must be borne
courageously, that man has duties, that the suicide is a coward
or an egoist, etc., etc. All of these phrases are religious in tone;
and none of them are of genuine significance in rational dis-
cussion.

What, after all, is suicide?

Suicide is the final act of a series of deeds which arise from
our reaction against our environment, or from that environment's
reaction against us.

Every day we commit suicide partially. I commit suicide when
I consent to inhabit a dwelling where the sun never shines, a
room where the ventilation is so inadequate that I am suffocated
on my couch.

I commit suicide when I devote, to hours of absorbing work,
an amount of energy which I am not able to recapture; or when
I engage in work which I know to be useless.

I commit suicide when I leave my stomach unprovided with
food in such quantity, and of such quality, as I actually need.

I commit suicide whenever I consent to obey oppressive men
or measures.

I commit suicide whenever I convey to another individual,
by the act of voting, the right to govern me for four years.

I commit suicide when I ask a magistrate or a priest for per-
mission to love.

I commit suicide when I do not reclaim my liberty as a lover,
as soon as the time of love is past.

Complete suicide is nothing but the final act of total inability
to react against the environment.

These acts, of which I have spoken as partial suicides, are not
therefore less truly suicidal. It is because I lack the power to
react against society, that I inhabit a place without light and
without air, that I do not eat in accordance with my hunger
or my taste, that I am a soldier or a voter, that I subject my love
to laws or to compulsion.

The workers daily commit suicide in spirit by leaving the
spirit inactive, by not letting it live, as they commit suicide as to
the arts of painting, sculpture, music, which offer to some of us
release from the cacophony which surrounds them.

There can be no question, as to suicide, of right or of duty,
of cowardice or of courage; it is a purely material problem, of
power or lack of power.

One hears it said, "Suicide is a right of a man because it
constitutes a necessity . . ." Or, again, "One cannot allow to
the proletariat the right of life and death."

Right? Necessity?

Shall one debate his right to breathe scantily—that is, to kill
the health-giving molecules and to encourage the unhealthy? his
right not to eat in accordance with his hunger—that is, to kill
his stomach? His right to obey—that is, to slay his will? His
right to love always the woman designated by the law or chosen
by the desire of one period—that is, to slay all the desires of
days to come?

Or if we substitute, in these phrases, the word "necessity" for
the word "right," do we make them thereby the more logical?

I have no intention to condemn these partial suicides more than
definitive suicide; but it seems to me pathetically comic to describe
as right or necessity this surrender of the weak before the strong
—and a surrender made without having tried everything. Such
expressions are nothing but excuses given to one's self.

All suicides are imbecilities, the total more than the others,
since in the partial forms there may remain some hope of re-
covering one's self. It would seem that, at the very hour of the
dissolution of the individual, all energy might be focussed on a
single point of reaction against the environment, even with a
thousand to one chance of failure in the effort.

This seems still more necessary and natural in view of the
fact that one leaves beloved persons behind one. For this part
of one's self, this portion of the energy of which one consists,
cannot one engage in a gigantic struggle wherein, however un-
equal the combat, the colossal Authority is always defied?

Many die, declaring themselves to be victims of society; do
they not realize that, the same cause producing the same effects,
the same might no less apply to these others whom they love?
Will not a desire then come to them to transform their vital force
into energy, into power, so as to burn the battery rather than to
separate its elements?

The fear of death—of the complete dissolution of the human
form—once rejected, one may engage in the struggle with a
corresponding accession of power.

Others respond to us, "We have a horror of bloodshed. We
do not wish to attack this society, made up of men who seem to
us to be both unaware and irresponsible."

Of the eternal spark, will always dress
His deed and word with loveliness itself.
And courage is the chord resolved when one—
Aware that in themselves these gifts will weight
But nothing, nor the actions—cannot stay
Until he dares the depths and peaks alone,
And bravest he whose mind is free, yet dares
Believe, who knowing seeks, and finding shares.

The first objection does not hold. Does the struggle take none
but a violent form? Is it not multiple, diverse? And the in-
dividuals who participate in it, can they not do so each according
to his own temperament?

The second is too inexact. Such words as "society," "know-
ledge," "responsibility" are too often repeated and too little
explained.

Unaware and without responsibility are the barrier that ob-
structs the road, the angry serpent, the tuberculosis microbe—
yet against them we defend ourselves.

Still more irresponsible (in the relative sense) are the corn-
field which we reap, the ox that we kill, the beehives that we
rob. Nevertheless we attack them all.

I know nothing of "responsible" nor of "irresponsible." I
see the causes of my suffering, of the cramping of my personality;
and my efforts are bent to suppress or to conquer them by every
possible means.

According to my power of resistance I assimilate or I reject,
I am assimilated or rejected. That is all.

Even stranger objections are advanced, in a form neurasthen-
ically scientific.

"Study astronomy, and you will realize the negligible duration
of human life as compared to the infinite . . . Death is a trans-
formation and not termination."

For myself, being finite, I have no conception of the infinite;
but I know that duration consists of centuries, centuries of years,
years of days, days of hours, hours of minutes, etc., I know
that time is made up of nothing but the accumulation of seconds,
that the great immensity consists only of the infinitely small.
Short as our life may be, it has its dimensional importance from
the point of view of the whole. Life seen from my own point
of view, with my own eyes, cannot be of little importance to me;
and all seems to me to have had no purpose but to prepare for us
—for myself and for that which surrounds me.

The stone, which, dropped from a metre above, caresses the
head, will break it open if it falls twenty metres. Arrested on the
way, seen from the point of view of the *All*, it differs in no par-
ticular; but it lacks the energy which makes it a power.

I ignore all that I cannot conceive, and I regard primarily
myself; and there is dissolution of power, or perhaps rather its
non-assimilation, in either a partial or a definitive suicide.

Death is the end of a human energy, as the dissociation of
elements of a battery is the end of the electricity which it releases,
as the dissolution of threads of a tissue is the end of that tissue's
strength. Death, the end of my "me," is more than a transfor-
mation.

There are those who say to one, "The goal of life is happi-
ness," and who profess to be unable to attain it. It seems to me
more simple to say that life is life. Life is happiness. Happiness
is life.

I know sorrow only as my attempts at assimilation are ar-
rested through a partial suicide.

All the acts of life are a joy to me. Breathing pure air, I
know happiness; my lungs are expanded, an impression of power
makes me glow. The hour of work and that of rest afford me
equal pleasure. The hour which brings the meal-time; the meal
itself with its labor of mastication; the hour which follows, with
its interior activity—all give me joy of varying sorts.

Shall I evoke the delicious attention of love, the sense of power
in the sexual encounter, the succeeding hours of voluptuous
relaxation?

Shall I speak of the joy of the eyes, of hearing, of odor, of
touching, of all the senses, of the delights of conversation and
of thought? Life is a happiness.

Life has not a goal. It is. Why wish for a goal, a beginning,
an end?

Let us recapitulate. Whenever, hurled on the stones by an
earthquake, avid for air, we bow our head against the rock,
whenever seized by the regimentation of society as it is, avid
for the ideal (to make this vague term exact: avid for the in-
tegral development of one's self and one's loved ones) we arrest
our life, we obey not a necessity nor a right, but an obsession of
force, of the obstacle. We do no voluntary act, as the partisans
of death profess; we obey the power of the environment which
crushes, and we depart precisely at the hour when the weight
is too heavy for our shoulders.

"Then," they say, "we do not go except at our hour—and our
hour is now." Yes. But since, resigned, they envisage their
defeat in advance; since they have not developed their tissues
with a view to resistance; they have not made due effort to react
against the regimentation of the environment. Unaware of their
own beauty, of their own force, they add to the objective strength
of the obstacle all the subjective weight of their own acceptance.

Like those resigned to partial suicides, they surrender them-
selves to the great suicide. They are devoured by an environment
avid for their flesh, eager to crush all energy that appears.

Their error lies in the belief that the dissolution is by their
own will, that they choose their hour, while actually they die
crushed inevitably by the wickedness of some and by the weak-
ness of others.

In a locality infected by the maleficent germs of typhus, of
tuberculosis, I do not think of absenting myself to avoid the
malady, rather, I proceed immediately to disseminate disin-
fectants, without any fear of killing millions of microbes.

In actual society, made foul by the conventional defecations of
propriety, of patriotism, of religion, of family, of ignorance,
crushed by the power of government and the inertia of the gov-
erned; I wish not to disappear, but to throw upon the scene the

(Continued on page Eight)

Bolshevik Justice For Anarchists In Russia

We have often exposed the numerous and scandalous cases of men being jailed and deported without trial in Soviet Russia. A simple G. P. U. (State Police) decision is enough to send any one administratively to the gallows, have him locked up in jail or deported for an unlimited time in the steppes of Siberia. The victims have neither defense nor appeal; the G. P. U. justice is based upon the unique magistracy of hangmen and jailers.

However, there are court houses in Russia; but they are used only for the common law breakers, Russian political opponents (when a well-prepared trial serves the bolshevik propaganda), and for the foreign element who are under the diplomatic protection of their respective States. For other cases, most of them workers who oppose the regime, or revolutionary foreigners not protected by the authorities of their respective countries, they generally use the G. P. U. administrative measures.

It is so that after the strange murder of Kirov (for which over a hundred poor wretched workers were unmercifully shot down) the cases of those who, upon a simple police report were jailed and deported, could be counted by the thousands. Revolutionary socialists, opponent communists, libertarians (most of them workers) were the object of an infuriated hunt. And if there would be in Russia the smallest bit of freedom of the press which still exists more or less in all democratic countries, the monstrous record of police ferocities would be established. Perhaps, then, the most fervent adherent to the united front would be tempted to demand an immediate stop to the enslavement of the Russian people; so that they themselves would feel better justified to fight for the liberation of the universe.

Thus, we are compelled to refer to individual cases that come to our attention; but with the understanding that in defending the man, the comrade, we intend to defend all of them no matter who they are—men who suffer and die for an emancipating ideal; we intend to defend the whole Russian people from whom their actual masters have robbed all liberties gained by great sacrifices on the part of the masses. We intend to get at a loathsome dictatorship of militarized and militarist party, to get at a police State system that is the most absolute negation of true revolutionary intelligence.

Otello Gaggi is an Italian libertarian worker, who, in 1921 in Italy, armed, opposed the invasion of Toscana (his birth place) by the fascist hordes; he was then sentenced to 30 years imprisonment. Gaggi succeeded in escaping to foreign countries and after many vicissitudes and numberless risks thought himself to be secure as a refugee—he had reached the Russian territory. With the best disposition towards a country which to him, a rebel, after all represented a vast social experiment and a source of hope, he tried to understand, to adapt himself (and perhaps as many others), to strive so as to excuse the working of an absolute power of a party upon the whole Russian population. He created himself a family, gained relations and worked as much as he could.

The "mysterious" murder of Kirov took place and at once the situation changed. The G. P. U. don't admit men to sympathize for the regime less than 100 per cent. And on Jan. 2nd, 1935, Gaggi was arrested. After a three month incarceration in Moscow, he was notified of a three year sentence of deportation to Siberia; this without Gaggi having been questioned or placed on trial.

Gaggi was sent to Jarensk. A short time after his wife was also arrested and deported to Siberia, but (the G. P. U. knows how to do things) in a different locality. Their little girl remained in Moscow intrusted to benevolent people.

Jarensk is a little village upon the Vipicda river, 150 miles from the railroad, is covered with snow eight months of the year and the temperature often far below zero. An ideal climate for a small worker of the sweet Toscana!

We submit the case to the workers' opinion. No, we don't think it would be asking too much. At meetings of united front organizations where speeches are made upon the defense or other topics concerning Soviet Russia, put the question to the speakers and audiences: "Is Gaggi endangering the 'revolution' when, after more than a year of separation from his wife, he asks that she be permitted to live in the same locality of deportation?" (Gaggi's request has always been rejected.)

While the Russian diplomatic general-staff entertain friendly relations with capitalistic countries, while the communist party smooths up its policy to safeguard the various bourgeois democ-

racies, are we extremist in demanding that a little democracy be granted to the poor wretched and enslaved Russian masses?

We ask the workers of the world to mediate and to expose the above mentioned facts to those who offer themselves as our guides of the proletarian revolution.

For the "C. I. D. A." (Translated by J. S.)

HEM DAY, Secretary

AN ANARCHIST TO STALIN'S FOLLOWERS

Carcel Central, April 22, 1936
Labor have inserted my name in their propaganda and in their press calling for my release.

As an Anarchist I address them and say: In the name of the anarchist prisoners in the jails and in Siberia of Soviet Russia, in the name of our executed comrades at Kronstadt, in the name of the suppressed anarchist groups and anarchist propaganda prohibited in Russia, in the name of the defamations and of the slanders against the comrades Kropotkin, Rocker, Malatesta, Fabbri, Makhno and others, in the name of our comrade Petrin—handed over by the Soviet Government to Italian fascism; in the name of the Regional Workers' Federation of Uruguay, and in the name of our comrades who died in prison and under the Bolshevik fire—and as an anarchist, I reject your help.

SIMON RADOWITZKY.

Notes

In a letter from a comrade now residing in France L'Aundata learns that Paolo Schicchi was not released last August as was promised to his family attorney. When the time came for his release he was asked to sign a declaration of his submission to the fascist regime of Italy. This is the usual price for "clemency." Schicchi refused to sign. Although suffering with rheumatism and now 70 years of age his spirit remains unbroken.

Nicola Recchi is the latest victim to be deported from Argentine to fascist Italy. He was immediately arrested while on board of the ship as it docked at Genoa and from there taken to the jail of Maccera where he received a third degree and is now awaiting a decision of his fate. No one who arrives as a deportee from another country escapes the persecution and sentencing to jail upon arrival in Italy.

ANOTHER FRAME-UP

The National Screw Manufacturing Company of Cleveland, Ohio, augers well to duplicate the role of the San Francisco Market Street Railway that framed Mooney and Billings. To avenge the strike of the IWW at their plant in 1935, detectives entered—without a warrant—the house of Mike Lindway, active participant of that strike, and found what they had brought and planted there—a "bomb factory." The district attorney, as of Fleckert fame, didn't fail his hirelings. With perjured evidence and perjured witnesses he succeeded in having a "jury" find Lindway "guilty" and a judge to sentence him to 20 years in Leavenworth. The Court of Appeals had set the verdict aside. The persecution then appealed to the Ohio Supreme Court which on June 3 upheld the conviction. Now the General Defense Committee of the IWW is bending all efforts on appealing the case to the United States Supreme Court. (Those wishing to contribute funds for this purpose should address same to the General Defense Committee, 2422 N. Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill.)

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Deportations and Leapfrog Playing

Every boy knows this play, in which "one slops down and another leaps or vaults over him."

The authorities of these United States, reminiscent of the by-gone school days, are still fond, through an inveterate habit, of playing leapfrog, though in a more serious field, particularly in the pastime of throwing upon one another the responsibility for enforcing the shameful deportation laws.

The legislative power, solicited by the executive power and pressed by the most reactionary element of the community, has voted, in moments of national panic, inquisitorial laws which exclude the so-called foreigners from the Constitutional jurisdiction, suppressing, so doing, the freedom of thought, denying the right of shelter, ignoring the First Amendment to the Constitution and the time-honored liberal traditions. The legislative power justifies its action reminding us the solicitations, to that effect, by the competent government branches and the solemn approval by the Supreme Court.

The executive power, with a zeal worthy of a better cause, enforces such laws interpreting them in the most reactionary sense possible, affecting individuals and organizations, whom the legislator did not intend to, systematically increasing the category of persons liable to deportation; to the extent of including any workmen daring to protest against an employer's greed or the arrogance of the authorities. Its justifications are ready-made:—Rigorous as the law is, that's the law, and the executive power's explicit duty is to execute it. The competent authorities are human and would gladly spare the stricken victims the anxieties and disaster following deportation; but the law is categorical and allows no derogation. He who thinks there has been something wrong in the verdict, has the right to appeal to the judicial power, to whom the last word belongs on the solidity of the laws and on the legality of the government acts.

As for the immigration authorities, they are as innocent as a flock of lambs. They just fulfill their duties, the results of which often bloody, ever ruinous, befalling the deported undesirables, simply do not concern them!

The judicial power, having satisfied the first law by which the Congress debarred, in 1892, the undesirable Chinese from the jurisdiction of the United States Constitution, therefore from the common law, has developed a jurisprudence that places the undesirable foreigner at the mercy of the executive power, that is, of the Commissariat of Immigration, annexed to the Labor Ministry, and obstinately refuses to intervene in deportation cases. Cases of intervention by the magistrate in such events are as rare as white elephants. Since the severe reprimand given the bills of Mitchell Palmer and of the Immigration Commissariat by the courageous Judge Anderson of the Court of Boston, in 1920, no example of equal judicial independence appears in the records of the United States administration of justice.

The magistrates accept a sentence pronounced by a reactionary majority of the Supreme Court and leave the foreigner at the discretion of the government, explaining that only the legislative power has the faculty to redress the sentence.

In matters of foreigners' undesirability, the Constitutional scruples of the magistracy, ever in earnest in guarding the vested interests, lie buried deep under the ground of complacency and inertia.

In other words, the powers that be, throwing the responsibility upon one another, go right ahead unperturbed administering an iniquitous law that breaks families asunder, abolishes the freedom of thought and delivers the intended victims over to the tormentors of the respective countries, thus reviving the Inquisition methods of dark-age memory.

Yes, that's the leap frog play to which Federal Judge Robert T. Patterson of New York devoted himself, announcing some weeks ago his decision concerning the habeas corpus appeal by Walter Baer*, who is presently detained at Ellis Island, pending his deportation to Germany.

Given the anti-Nazi opinions openly professed by Baer, the mildest sentence in store for him in the Hitler empire is, undoubtedly, the concentration camp. A severe punishment, leading to very grave consequences, for political opinions not considered a crime by the United States law.

Judge Patterson is not unaware of the fate awaiting Walter Baer in the land of the swastika, but, he says, he's powerless. "Such considerations are an attribute of the Congress; the law in force does not allow the magistrate to interfere;" etc. Walter Baer is liable to death penalty altogether under the Nazi law, but what of it? Judge Patterson's conscience wouldn't be less tranquil or clean for causing the destruction of a mere foreigner's life. By executing the law as it is, he fulfills his duty, and that's all there is to it; no ground whatever for remorse.

Nevertheless, there is an article in the American Constitution, which prohibits "cruel and unusual punishment." We wonder what punishment could be more cruel than handing over honest and laborious human beings, who are only guilty of holding opinions of their own, to the caprices of paranoiac dictators, who, by the way, haven't as yet been put on trial for their countless atrocious, bestial infamies?

L'ADUNATA DEI REFRATTARI

*Judge Caffrey, in denying the writs for a habeas corpus in the cases of Ferrero and Sallitto, as also in many other deportation cases, expressed himself in identical terms.—EDITOR

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The Joy of Life

(Continued from page Seven)

light of truth, to provide a disinfectant, to purify it by any means at my command.

Even with death approaching, I shall have still the desire to change my body by means of phenol or picric acid, for the sake of humanity's health.

And if I am destroyed in this effort, I shall not be totally effaced, I shall have reached against the environment, I shall have lived briefly but intensely; I shall perhaps have opened a breach for the passage of energies similar to my own.

No, it is not life that is bad, but the conditions in which we live. Therefore we shall address ourselves not to life, but to these conditions: let us change them.

One must live, one must desire to live still more abundantly. Let us accept not even the partial suicides.

Let us be eager to know all experiences, all happiness, all sensations. Let us not be resigned to any diminution of our "me." Let us be champions of life, so that desires may arise out of turpitude and weakness; let us assimilate the earth to our own concept of beauty.

Thus may our wishes be united, magnificently; and at the last we shall know the Joy of Life in the absolute.

LET US LOVE LIFE.